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RECENT CHANGES IN FAMILY STRUCTURE IN AN INDIAN VILLAGE*

MORRIS E. OPLER
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During the course of a long-term study of a village community of north central India in eastern Uttar Pradesh, which was carried out by staff and students of Cornell University, the villagers showed a decided consciousness of changes that have come about in their locality and often volunteered information calling attention to innovations of various kinds and to what they considered to be shifts away from traditional practices.

Encouraged by this interest in the topic and the consciousness of our village friends of these matters, and because the study of culture change was one of the principal objectives of the research, we decided to undertake some intensive, systematic interviewing in respect to the topic of change. We constructed a detailed interview guide designed to cover subject areas in which change might have occurred, and our plan was to ask older people of the village what changes, if any, they had noted in respect to these headings during their lifetimes. Our subject areas, or interview categories, were twenty-two in number and covered a wide range. They dealt with material culture (housing, clothing, agriculture, food, village handicrafts, methods of transportation, etc.), with socio-economic relations such as the *jajman-parjuna* and *praja-zamindar* relations, and with such topics as health and medicine, education, marriage practices, relations between family members, caste relations, village leadership and government, and religious practices. In fact, the interview guide was to a considerable extent an inventory of the culture, arranged so as to elicit the most information concerning culture change.

In order to achieve some time depth and get some indication of the kind of changes which had taken place in the last 40 to 50 years, it was, of course, necessary to consult the older residents. We decided that the interviews should be held with persons over 55 years of age. There were 88 such persons in the village. Of

*A first draft of this paper was presented at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Santa Monica, California, December, 1957.

these, a good many could not be interviewed because of infirmities, work obligations from which they could not spare time, or because of temporary absence from the village. But 29 interviews were completed; and partial interviews, covering some of the topics, were secured from a number of other respondents. The 29 interviews which were completed are all quite long and detailed. The material obtained in a number of them runs to approximately 35 single-spaced, typed pages. The interviews yielded, in average, about 20 typed pages of data. There is no special merit in bulk; this is cited merely to indicate that the subjects had a good deal to say on the topics and that they spoke enthusiastically and at length. The interviews were carried on from mid-December of 1955 to mid-April of 1956. Often an interview required more than a day or parts of several days to complete. Six members of the Cornell University research team participated in the questioning. An attempt, which was in the main successful, was made to obtain responses from a good cross section of the village's older inhabitants. Thirteen of the subjects were women and 16 were men. Eleven castes were represented in the sample, including all the populous and important castes of the village and castes of high, middle, and low status.

The purpose of this survey on change was to do much more than compile a catalog of the cultural shifts which had occurred within the memories of living residents of the locality. It was hoped that the effort would help us to date items introduced and give us some indications of sequences and antecedents in situations of change. We were also interested in obtaining hints of the directions from which impulses to change have come, and of the persons in the village instrumental in promoting or opposing the changes. We expected, also, to uncover information about artifacts and usages which have been replaced or superseded by current possessions or practices. Moreover, we were quite as much interested in the attitudes toward the changes described as we were in the objective facts provided.

Not all of the findings can be dealt with in this brief paper; but it may be of interest if something is said about changes in family relations and particularly in husband-wife relations which all, or the great majority of those who responded to the questions, asserted had taken place within recent decades.

Without exception, all the subjects commented, sometimes at great length, about the relaxation of *parda*, or the seclusion of women. The village from which the material was obtained is located in a region where the restrictions on the behavior and movement of a woman have traditionally been very severe after her marriage when she is in her husband's village and home. She observed a virtual avoidance relationship with her father-in-law and elder brothers-in-law. She was expected to be diffident and respectful to all older women of the household and to assume an attitude of "service" in respect to the mother-in-law. She could not leave the house without permission, and such permission was seldom granted. Some of the most elaborate restrictions and precautions colored the relations between a married couple when they were in the presence of others, particularly older members of the family. Upon the appearance of her husband, a woman completely covered her head and face and turned away; she could not address her husband directly, serve food to him directly, or hand objects to him directly. Men came quietly to the rooms of their wives at night for intimate relations. Any outward manifestation of their relationship or of their interest in each other on the part of the married couple before other family members was considered most embarrassing and unseemly. If a young wife did not get along with her mother-in-law or the wives of her husband's older brothers, it was assumed that the husband would side with his blood kin and their wives and reprimand his own wife. The whole set of conventions was seen as a dramatization of the strength and vitality of the joint family and of its ability to absorb and subordinate individual families and young newcomers for the common good. Whether it was decried or approved (and in the main, it was lamented by our subjects), it was agreed that today the young women leave the houses much more freely, are much less careful about covering or averting their faces before men, are more willing publicly to perform services for their husbands, and that they and their husbands are decidedly less inclined to make a secret of their intimate meetings.

Much of the initiative toward this relaxation is attributed to the men. Instances were constantly cited of men who chide their wives for being too shy and withdrawn, who talk and sit with

their wives in the presence of others, and who call upon their wives to perform various services for them, even though the family elders are present.

The villagers are not only conscious of the relaxation of *parda*; they are quite vocal about factors which they feel have led to this state of affairs. Some of it is attributed to the increasingly higher level of education of the young men. The quest for higher education is taking more young men to cities and towns where they see women going about much more freely than in the villages and even participating in professional life. This the young men take as a mark of urban sophistication, progress, and what the villager calls "fashion," and they tend to encourage comparable behavior on the part of their wives on their return or when they marry, if they are still single. The higher the educational level of the young men at marriage, the greater the effort to find them brides with some education. This is bringing more highly trained and educated wives to the village homes, girls who have had considerable advantage and freedom, who have some sense of attainment and importance, and who are not easily subordinated or overawed in the family situation.

It is also recognized by the villagers that the increasing number of work experiences outside of the village on the part of young men before marriage or of young married men also contributes to the changing conception of what a wife should be. The influence of the urban model is particularly strong when the young wife accompanies the husband during a period of employment in the city, something that now occasionally happens. The entrance of women into political life with the granting of adult franchise and the national and state programs aimed at bringing education and health facilities to women are also recognized by the villagers as factors in the challenge to *parda*.

There are a number of other changes in family relations about which the respondents had much to say, such as the changing role of the father in the family constellation, the changes in the relations between brothers, and the changes in the relations between the elders and juniors in general, but space does not permit more than a mention of these.

Yet, one thing is clear. While the joint family has not broken down in this village (there are twice as many joint families as

nuclear families and four-fifths of the people live in joint families), the changes that are occurring have tended in many cases to make the nuclear families islands of special interest within the joint family. Such changes as the greater outward show of affection of the man toward his wife, the disregard of the prerogatives of age, the greater independence of the younger brother, and the greater concern of the father for his own biological children have caused much tension in these joint families and have created more than a little uncertainty about their future.

CHANGING SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN A DANISH VILLAGE*

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In his research on class, Warner has been criticized for not separating more definitively the various dimensions of social stratification, and specifically for merging economic and prestige hierarchies (Mills, 1942, 264-265). It has, however, never seriously been challenged that a very salient relationship does exist between the two categories.

In the following pages we record what happened to the class structure of a Danish village when its marine-based economy collapsed and the community was urbanized, giving particular attention to the bases of prestige-ranking before and after this change.

Dragor was, in the 1890's (baseline for our study), a home port for full-riggers, schooners and fishing smacks. Its 2,000 inhabitants were supported primarily by sailing or fishing or related servicing stores and industries. The village may be characterized as having been culturally isolated and conservative. Dragor's harbor opened upon the turbulent Kattigat which linked the busy Baltic and the North Sea, and these sea-lanes provided Dragor's principal contact with the world beyond and around her. Copenhagen, only 14 kilometers away, also faced the sea but contact between village and capital city, particularly by land routes, was spasmodic and infrequent.

Marine employment was highly regarded and other work held in invidious comparison. The hierarchy by which individuals were ranked in prestige by others of the community was based upon the hierarchy of command aboard ship, somewhat modified to incorporate the whole population. The resultant social divisions were correlated, as we shall see, with a stratified pan-

*The field research for this paper was supported by a Research Training Fellowship of the Social Science Research Council and was prepared for publication during the tenure of Postdoctoral Fellowships of the National Science Foundation.

village network of work-time and leisure-time groups, some formal and others informal in structure.

Almost without exception a man's prestige derived from the specific nature of his maritime employment. His wife and children were ranked accordingly. Three ranked groups evolved. The skippers, pilots and ships' officers together formed the community's upper stratum. The bulk of the population—seamen, most fishermen, and skilled artisans were grouped apart from and below that of the marine leadership, but above a virtually prestigeless group of unskilled laborers and those fishermen and seamen who had forfeited status, generally because of moral turpitude, chronic alcoholism or an aversion to work.

These were the core reference groups. These were Dragor's classes. Against this distribution the remainder of the population was assessed and ranked in prestige. Not every dryland occupation ranked low on the scale. In the equation between land-based and sea-based occupations, the tacit understanding seems to have been that, in spite of a less commendable type of work, the power and consequent social weight of certain personages negated their placement at a mean level.

Professions which required a formal education and which placed a person in a position of leadership, such as the priest and the head school teacher were equated on a level that approached that of the skippers and pilots and ships' officers and was sufficiently above that of seamen and fishermen to be placed with the former. The three farmers were envied their wealth but not their work, but their advantage in capital goods placed them in the upper stratum, despite their occupation. Master craftsmen ranked just below ships' officers, and journeymen were considered on a plane with seamen and fishermen.

Dragorians themselves recognized "fine people" (the upper class), "ordinary people" (the middle) and "poor people" (the lower).

It is significant that in the nineteenth century village these groups had corporate existence. Dragor's classes were discernible and fixed in their loci, and the activity of their membership was socially prescribed and predictable. There was little class mobility.

In the frozen mid-winter months when ice closed the harbor,

most mariners were portbound. For seamen and their families time passed in sedentary tasks; the fishermen mended nets and repaired equipment, and the village celebrated its biggest fêtes while the men were home. During this period of maximum socializing the corporate grouping of classes is most discernible.

Every day at three-thirty or four, weather permitting, seamen gathered to tour the harbor, to observe and discuss wind and ships. A year-round routine, it was enhanced by the number of men in port at this time. They formed a number of groups, the membership of which was prescribed. Each group confined itself to a specific area. Ships' masters gathered by the harbor office, ships' officers at the council house walking towards the west and back again, because at the north end by the shed (*beghus*) the ordinary seamen collected. Pilots localized around the Royal Pilot Headquarters and fishermen were to be seen around their boats beached at the harbor. No one joined the group to which he did not belong. He did not care to. He would not have been allowed to.

After half an hour or an hour the groups would break up, masters, officers and pilots heading for the "Skippers' Room" at the Old Inn or the meeting place of the Skipper Society at "Holm's", while sailors and fishermen adjourned to the "Cellar Room" of the Old Inn or to "Schmidt's", where they were members of Unity, the society of men utilizing their premises. In these various places the men drank rum toddies and played cards until the church bells chimed six-thirty, time to go home to dinner.

The classes also emerged as corporate bodies in the social clubs. The "Old Inn" had two separate rooms where food and drink could be had, the cellar room (*Kellerstuen*) and, on the ground floor, the so-called Inn-room (*Krostuen*). The former was frequented by fishermen, ordinary seamen, laborers, and journeymen; the latter, by skippers, ships' officers, pilots, master craftsmen, and occasional travellers. Open from 6 a.m. until 11 p.m., they were frequented during the day by men seeking refreshment in the form of beer or "bitters" (schnapps, perhaps wine, with a few drops of bitters). Many of the fishermen dropped in for a morning bracer when they had finished hanging out their nets. Between four and six the rooms were filled with

the men from the afternoon harbor groups playing cards or billiards and drinking rum toddies. One did not have to pay for the privilege of playing and on Sunday afternoons twelve to fourteen card tables were usually in action in the cellar room alone. In the evenings a few came to drink and play cards. Not infrequently someone with a mouth organ or accordion would play and perhaps all would join in to sing songs about Denmark or the sea. When a man came home from a long sea voyage, especially if he were young, he might buy one or two bowls of punch into which everyone in the room could dip, spirits soon soaring in convivial reunion.

The village had, in addition, two establishments catering exclusively to a class-limited clientele. "Holm's" was a public house ordinarily used only by the maritime members of the upper class. In the 1870's the "Dragor Ship Owners and Ship Masters Society" (*Dragor skibsreder- og skibsfører forening*), also known as the Skipper Society, was founded by men sharing a common level of interest in maritime shipping. They leased rooms in Holm's where they could meet daily for eating, drinking, games and general socializing. By the 1890's, society membership had been extended to include pilots and ships' officers, but other male members of the upper class were not admitted until the first decade of the twentieth century by which time class affiliation was no longer dependent on a marine hierarchy.

"Schmidt's" was a grocery store to which a dining-room had been added on the initiative of the grocer's mother. The establishment was briefly but unsuccessfully open to all Dragorians, but soon the proprietor and some clients founded a society called "The Unity" (*Enigheden*), the purpose of which was, in effect, to provide for middle class men facilities similar to Holm's. A man was elected to membership by popular acclamation on the basis of being a "gentleman". This requirement excluded the lower class. Skippers, ships' officers and pilots had their own society and did not mingle socially with men who were often their worktime subordinates. The result was a middle class membership made up exclusively of "ordinary people."

Winter was the season for association balls. The Skipper Society and Unity each sponsored one for the Christmas-New Year's holidays and a second for Shrovetide. These celebrations

divided the population socially along the neat, unyielding cleavage of its economically-based groupings. Upper class men, women and children attended the Skipper Society festivities, while middle class men, women and children participated in the corresponding activities of the Unity. The people of low class were left to organize a scattering of informal parties for their own amusement.

At the turn of the century, Dragor's marine-based economy experienced a series of setbacks from which it did not recover. With its demise perished a whole dependent social system.

Virtually without exception, fishermen and seamen resisted or languished too long in the acceptance of innovations which were revamping the marine industry and navigation throughout the Western world—especially, steam-powered craft. In their conservatism, Dragorians were not disposed to make the necessary technological adjustments for what they evaluated as debatable advantages. Within a decade, when the alternative was painfully evident, it was too late and every local industry had been adversely affected.

With the decline in maritime employment and related business, the need for a shift in economic orientation was concomitant with the opening up of Copenhagen as a source of wage-employment. This was a development possible only because of advances in the fields of transportation and communication, particularly the completion of a railroad link with the capital in 1907—the same advances that had contributed so decisively to the economic decline of Dragor as a marine village.

Little by little the technological changes that had brought economic crisis to the village also brought its resolution. And in the course of a generation, Dragor found itself a suburb of Copenhagen with its economic base in the capital city.

The former elaboration of the mid-winter Christmas and New Year's holidays, so well adjusted to a maritime economic cycle with winter inactivity, changed with urbanization to a cycle of fêtes characterized by a fairly even spacing of work-free days through the year and was coordinated with the growth of year-round wage labor. The class system perpetuated by the old socio-economic calendar received no support within the new urban-gear program.

Changes in social organization represented adjustments to changes in economic life. The isolation of the nuclear family vis-à-vis the larger kinship groups formerly significant in the village, and the disintegration of class-based group solidarity are developments congruous with a diversified urban economy of broader base. Economically, the individual is vastly more independent of local pressures and socially he enjoys greater self-determination.

With the disappearance of the merchant ships from Dragor during the first decade of the twentieth century the basis for reckoning prestige was altered. The remaining skippers, pilots, and ship owners preserved their high status but maritime pursuits lost their supreme evaluation. By World War I there was no marine employment to an extent significant for community-wide notice of it.

With techno-economic change, with urbanization, the old prestige-class system modified, to the extinction of corporate class groupings. The major impetus to their dissolution was that type of occupation, the most significant criterion of organization, was altered. Prestige instead came to attach to almost any position of wealth and power, criteria which characterize the class-reckoning basis of all urban Denmark.

Class stratification is ideologically unacceptable to modern Danes, including Dragorians. As a result, it is now commonly claimed that there are no classes in Dragor, or that almost all belong to the middle class (*middleklassen*). But while the existence of classes is denied, people speak freely of "groups" (*staende*). Everyone is readily classified as belonging to the group of civil servants (*embedsstand*), the worker group (*arbejdsstand*), priest group (*praestestand*), teacher group (*laererstand*) and so on. As Marstrand has pointed out for Denmark as a whole, these groups may be regarded as falling into a tripartite stratification. Most of the population belongs to the well-defined working class; there is a capitalist class; and a remnant is conveniently left apart as a third, undefined class (Marstrand, 1942, 166-169).

The societies with their class-limited memberships and holiday balls, the separation of Old Inn into two rooms catering to class-differentiated clienteles, and the division of the men during their

afternoon promenade at the harbor—all have disappeared. At present one can speak of unified or corporate class bodies only to the limited extent that some groups (*staende*), particularly the laborers and farmers, have a sense of identity of interest with groups of colleagues throughout the land, may belong to national associations, and occasionally attend national conventions and local party meetings. On the communal level, however, class is no longer the basis for the crystallization of face-to-face groups of daily significance.

Summary.—This study supports the contention that prestige-based and economy-based hierarchies are closely related among the dimensions which order social stratification.

We have examined comparatively the change in the class structure of a Danish village which underwent rather rapid urbanization. Our baseline of investigation was 1890 when the community was a harbor village, entirely oriented to a marine economy. During this period factors of prestige and economy were found to have been mutually effective—that is, men were ranked socially in prestige precisely as they were ranked hierarchically on board ship. The resultant three-class division overlay work activities and social diversions with impartial adhesion. Prestige-ranking reinforced the economy; the economy established the pattern by which prestige was extended or withheld. The near-ubiquitousness of marine employment within a small, geographically isolated population contributed to the tight correlation between the two factors which actually overlapped in the corporate class-based societies of the period. These were both formal and informal in nature and ordered work as well as leisure activities of the community along strict class lines.

A different basis for reckoning class lines emerged with urbanization. Prestige and occupational hierarchies are still related but a new selectivity orders the relationship. Prestige still attaches to economic advantage but hierarchical supremacy now attaches to any position representative of power and wealth—a pattern known in the village, but formerly applicable in determining the class status of the minority not in marine employment.

An interesting contrast was found between the class structure of the 1890's and that of contemporary Dragør. The old village had pervasive class-based corporate groups. These disappeared

in the process of urbanization, and are absent from the present tripartite class divisions. This difference implies a dependent "utility" in the role and function of social stratification in the old and new communities, which if generally true could constitute an underlying difference between village and urban class systems.

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CHILD TRAINING AMONG TYROLEAN PEASANTS¹

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There has been some recent discussion of similarities and differences between Tyrolean peasant culture on one hand and Pueblo Indian culture on the other. Lange (1957) has emphasized important similarities in the two cultures while Boissevain (1958) has emphasized important differences. Lange's paper was based on brief first-hand acquaintance with Tyrolean peasant culture and the reading of such excellent studies as Wopfner (1951-1954); his first-hand acquaintance with Pueblo culture was more prolonged and intimate. Boissevain claims first-hand knowledge of neither Tyrolean nor Pueblo culture, but extrapolates to the Tyrol from her visits to other rural areas of Central Europe, especially near Prague. Perhaps the discussion might be usefully balanced by a special report from an observer who reverses Lange's viewpoint, having only a cursory first-hand acquaintance with Pueblo culture (two five-day visits to the Hopi) but having earlier done field work in the Tyrol, concentrating on a single village of mountain peasants, *Bergbauern*, and their child training practices.

First impressions of the Hopi brought many feelings of familiarity; despite the marked differences in physical environment and material culture, a mesa pueblo like Walpi or Mishongnovi felt intuitively similar to a mountain peasant village like Kauns or Ried. Thus, with Boissevain, I find many of Lange's points of similarity well taken, especially in the area of the religious life of the group. Some marked contrasts appear however, particularly in the matter of attitude toward warfare, the Hopi strongly emphasizing peacefulness, the Tyrolean peasants strongly emphasizing manly courage, military order, and a military tradition (Raoul Naroll, n.d.).

But this contrast is no greater than that between Pueblo and Plains attitude toward warfare and thus really is off the main issue. That main issue, as I see it, was clearly stated by Boissevain (p. 1187). She questions the validity of Lange's comparison

¹ A preliminary version of this paper was read at the Southwestern Anthropological Association meeting in October, 1958.

of the Pueblo and Tyrolean acculturation to their respective "great traditions." Here she accepts the view of Foster (1953) that folk culture has a symbiotic relationship to urban culture, that folk society is only a "half society," the other half being the urban center on which it depends. The study of Tyrolean peasant child training here reported seems to me to support the Foster thesis. It seems to reveal a folk culture presenting traits which came from an earlier period of urban culture. Tyrolean peasant child training practices and attitudes differ considerably from those current in Vienna and Salzburg today (as mothers from middle class Viennese and Salzburg families present in the peasant village attested). But these practices and attitudes seem to me to resemble child training practices common in Euro-American urban society of a generation or two ago.

This study of child training was made in the three summer months of 1956 in Kaunertal, a western valley of the Austrian Tyrol, where I had with me my year old daughter.² Kaunertal consists of a series of scattered hamlets along a narrow valley floor, covering a distance of four and one half miles, and numbering about 450 inhabitants. The economic basis of Kaunertal is transhumance and subsistence farming.

Child training in Kaunertal is orally permissive. Although most peasant women in Kaunertal suckle only a short time (not usually longer than three months), infants are bottle-fed until three years of age or longer. Mothers in Kaunertal feel that as long as the child drinks from the bottle he drinks more than when he is weaned to a cup, therefore it is "healthy" to give a child a bottle. They feel that it is also "neat," for there is much less spillage from a bottle than from a cup. To supplement the sucking gratification of a bottle, a pacifier, called a *Luli* or *Lula* (*Luller*) is given to the child. The *Lula* is a plastic nipple attached to a small knob, whereby the child can pick up the pacifier easily and reinsert it in his mouth when he has dropped it. It is a common sight to see children of two and three years of

²I am deeply indebted to Dr. Imma Plankensteiner of Kaunertal and Salzburg, my principal informant. Her husband, Professor Walter Plankensteiner, a native of Kaunertal, criticized the manuscript and made many valuable comments, as did my husband, Raoul Naroll. I also learned much from my young Kaunertal friends, Christl Bockstaller and Annelise Larcher, and from Frau Eva Wimmer of Vienna. I alone am responsible for errors and shortcomings.

age playing in yards and on roadsides, contentedly sucking the *Lula*. By four years of age most children have given up the *Lula*, but there is no strong social pressure exerted to give it up until six years of age, when the child starts school.

Whether the infant is breast-fed or bottle-fed, night feedings are discouraged, and when an infant cries during the night he is given water, not milk. Although the government of Austria has encouraged breast-feeding by paying nursing mothers a small allowance, the peasant women of Kaunertal make little attempt at it. Most of them who do breast-feed wean to the bottle by two or three months of age, using cow's milk, goat's milk, or a combination. When the infants are breast-weaned they get a mixture of half milk and half water with a little flour in it, called the *Pappele*. Until about twenty years ago mothers and grandmothers chewed solids, usually dumplings, for the infant, spat them out and fed them to him. In some families this practice is still followed. Infants are given mashed potato and carrot toward the end of the first year. As soon as the child starts to eat solid food he is held on his mother's lap, and he is fed there until he is old enough to sit on a chair. When a child has attained enough manual dexterity to hold a spoon or fork he dips into his mother's plate with it and eats from it. During and after dentition the child is given frequent pieces of bread, sometimes with butter or jam on it, to chew on.

In spite of the attitude of oral permissiveness towards bottle and pacifier there is a strong "tabu" against thumb sucking. The people of Kaunertal say thumb sucking is "unhealthy", and it will make the teeth and jaws grow crooked. Also, thumbsuckers are said to give up the sucking habit later than pacifier suckers. And since thumbsuckers always have the thumb handy, whereas pacifier suckers do not carry the *Lula* to school, the thumb is considered an undesirable object to suck. I saw no thumbsuckers in Kaunertal, but I was told that there are a few.

The Tyrolean attitude toward toilet training is strict, rather than permissive, but not as strict as German and Dutch attitudes. Both boys and girls in Kaunertal are held on a pot for micturation at about one year of age. Girls are expected to be toilet trained during the day at fifteen months of age, and boys at eighteen months. (Boys are considered harder to toilet train

than girls). Both boys and girls are expected to be toilet trained at night six months after they have been trained during the day. Thus, a girl is expected to be completely trained by about twenty-one months of age, and a boy by about two years. Although this is the ideal, boys sometimes remain untrained after two years of age. Girls, however, are rarely untrained after age two.

Chairs for toilet training are not used in Kaunertal. The child is put directly on a metal or porcelain pot. When the child is being trained the mother may pour hot water into the pot and seat the child over the steam, to induce micturation. Kaunertal mothers discourage playing and dawdling during defecation.

A Tyrolean infant is not placed in his own room at birth. Sometimes he sleeps in a small bed next to his parents, sometimes in his mother's or grandmother's bed. A grown woman remembered sleeping with her grandmother until she was twelve years old and went away to school.

The Tyrolean family is more adult than child-centered. Children in the Tyrol are treated more casually than American children, talked to less, interacted with less, cuddled less, remonstrated with less. A crying child is not immediately picked up and comforted in the Tyrol, unless perhaps he has just received a fall or injury. And sometimes he is not comforted promptly even when he is hurt.

Rocking of children is not common in the Tyrol, nor is kissing. The Tyrolean mother does not "walk the floor" with a crying infant at night. Rather, she warms his abdomen by wrapping it with woolen cloths, and pats him in his crib. Colicky babies are given infusions of local herbs or camomile.

Though they do not commonly display affection toward children, the Tyroleans manifest deep concern in other ways. Strangers frequently stopped me on the street to talk about my year old daughter. Sometimes the remarks were admiring, but more often they were solicitous. An old woman advised me to have her eye examined—it was tearing. A middle-aged man told me not to let her sit on the cement—she might get a chill. The young waitress at the inn where we stayed picked up my child to comfort her when I scolded her for throwing food on the floor. The Tyrolean calm conveys more warmth than sternness.

Discipline is not harsh or excessive in the Tyrol. Children are punished commonly by a slap—not on the buttock if the offender is a lad in *Lederhosen*, for the leather is too thick to let much of a sting through it—but rather, on the hand, cheek or ear. Mealtime misbehavior is often punished by sending the offender from the table, misbehavior at other times by sending him to a bedroom. Whipping is not common in the Tyrol.

A Tyrolean child is expected to offer his hand to adults he meets, and the parent's pride is obvious when a babe-in-arms holds out his hand at his mother's or father's bidding. I never heard a child speak impudently to an adult, but I did hear children make contemptuous remarks to peers or older siblings.

The peasants of Kaunertal commonly address each other by the familiar *du*. And children have recently begun to use the *du* form to parents, relatives and adults from their village, although many still use the old dual forms *os* (nominative), *enker* (genitive), and *enk* (dative and accusative). But even though the child may use the familiar form of address to parents and other adults he does not have equal status with them. The words of address by an adult to a child are filled with diminutives. A mother, in calling her child to wash his hands, might say to him, "Come, little babe, let's wash the little hand with this little cloth," adding the *le* (*lein*) to every noun in the sentence. This practice of adding diminutives to the child's name as well as to his familiar vocabulary seems symbolic of the child's status in Kaunertal society. Also, it is interesting to note that in a Kaunertal household birthdays are nowadays sometimes celebrated. An adult's birthday is marked by a birthday cake in his honor; the child's birthday is marked at most by a piece of candy or a small chocolate bar.

Birth announcements are unheard of in Kaunertal, although burial notices, *Parte*, have been introduced since the last war by the wealthier families. About twenty miles from the village there is a hospital with a maternity ward, and the parturients of Kaunertal in recent years have been going there several weeks prior to their primiparous delivery date if the doctor or midwife advises them to do so. But most parturients are delivered in the village by the local midwife, *Hebamme*. She usually returns every day for a week after parturition to care for the mother

and infant. It is rare for the father to assist his wife either during the delivery or afterward, with the care of the new infant; he would do so only if no one else could assist the parturient. Prophylactic circumcision is not performed on Austrian infants.

There are no rites de passage in Kaunertal to mark either the first tooth or the first step. In this Roman Catholic community infants are baptised soon after birth, often in the hospital if parturition has taken place there. Children attend church at an early age, usually accompanied by older siblings or one or both parents. They do not wear their everyday clothing for church attendance, and their faces are freshly washed and their hair combed—a marked contrast to the running noses, spotted clothing and uncombed hair of the weekday. On festive days girls from five to sixteen years of age wear white dresses and wreaths of white artificial flowers in their hair when they take part in the church processions; and boys wear jackets with their long or short trousers. Godparents are important figures in Kaunertal. At Easter every boy receives from his godparents a large Easter bunny made from white bread dough, and every girl receives an Easter hen; both boys and girls receive in addition Easter eggs. First communion is a time for celebration with godparents, and gift-giving by them.

In this alpine area infants are kept carefully covered, with only hands and face exposed. Long stockings are the common bottom garment, and with this the infant wears undershirt, knitted overshirt, bootees, and often a sweater and a cap, unless the day is extremely warm. The Tyrolean mothers do not give their babies sun baths. Until about twenty years ago a wide skirt of light, warm cloth called the *Kittel*, was worn by children as soon as they could walk. A boy would not receive his first pair of trousers until about the age of four. The *Kittel* dropped out of use between the two world wars.

Older children are not dressed as warmly as infants. In summer little girls wear cotton dresses and aprons, and go barefooted if it is hot; on Sundays some have recently begun to wear white knee-length stockings with their shoes. Boys wear long or short trousers, and long or short-sleeved shirts. The *Lederhosen*, or leather shorts, have been introduced during the last twenty years. Until twenty or thirty years ago all the children went

barefooted during the three summer months, and wore shoes only on Sunday for church. Boys now either go barefooted or wear ankle-high boots and dark woolen knee-length stockings. Infants are nowadays usually dressed in white while they are still in the carriage; when they begin to crawl they are dressed in the urban style of pink for girls, blue for boys. Older boys wear gray, brown or dark green, and girls for the most part red and blue.

In looks and demeanor adolescent girls are bashful nineteenth century country maidens. They never wear shorts, bloomers, slacks or low cut or sleeveless blouses; during the heavy snows of winter women may wear ski trousers to ski in, but trousers are considered improper female attire at all other times for all ages—even for infants. Girls wear their skirts knee-length until they are about sixteen years old, then drop them to mid-calf. They usually plait their hair into braids until they are twelve to fourteen years of age, after which age they wind the braid around the head or twist the hair into a simple bun or knot. It is not uncommon, however, to see little girls with short hair at the present time.

Children's play in Kaunertal is usually unstructured. There are no communal play areas, except for one open field. There is no play equipment, either in the school yard or in individual yards. Infants are not put into play pens or enclosures. They are wheeled in carriages until they can walk, and then they wander in the house, yard or road, supervised by the mother, by an older sibling, or by a nursemaid, *kindermädchen*, a local adolescent or pre-adolescent girl. Children engage in sand play on the banks of the Faggenbach. They play with cones of the fir trees, which are their imaginary cows, with wheel toys, animal toys and dolls. They play hide and seek, take walks, and as they grow older, take long mountain hikes. Berry and mushroom gathering are favorite activities of the summer months. Young boys proudly bring back from their hikes sprigs of *Edelweiss*, the symbol of their daring and agility on the alpine crags.

There is no pond to swim in, no formal organization of games, in Kaunertal. But numerous badminton sets were in evidence, having been newly introduced. The game was favorite with

the adolescents, but was not played according to the usual badminton rules; the object of the game was to keep the bird in motion as long as possible, rather than to score over the opponent. They used no net, but simply counted how many times the bird was batted back and forth without a miss. A few years ago an instructor used to come to the village to teach the young people folk dancing, but this instruction has been discontinued. During the summertime dances are held at two of the four tourist inns, and the local people come there and dance alongside the tourists. Grown boys and girls attend, but no one of school age. Austrian and German films are occasionally shown at the inns, and both children and adults come to view them.

At about the age of seven or eight, Kaunertal children begin to assume adult responsibility and assist with the household work, the boys with herding of the cows and goats, the girls with cooking and washing; and both boys and girls help in the fields when it is time to mow or stack hay and every hand is needed. Boys between ten and fourteen years of age are the goatherds during the summer months, leading the goats every morning from the stables to the high meadows for the day, and driving them down at night. Frequent rains make goat herding arduous and dangerous work for these youths.

Children start school at six years of age, going on foot to the village school house, where they are divided into lower and upper groups, with a teacher in charge of each group. This *Volkschule* is compulsory up to the age of fourteen, after which the young people may go to work, or continue in a vocational or liberal arts high school. If they choose to continue with their education they must leave the village and go to the neighboring town of Landeck, fifteen miles away, either traveling daily on the bus or living in the town during the week. During the summer months, of course, schools are not in session.

Most of the young people leave Kaunertal soon after finishing *Volkschule*. The young girls often go into domestic service in tourist inns during the summer months, working as waitresses or chamber maids, in order to furnish their dowry. Boys often take jobs in nearby factory towns, sending home as much of their earnings as they can, and returning to help with the farm work as needed.

The children of Kaunertal, in spite of their chronic running noses, appear sturdy and healthy. The five year old daughter of our inn-keeper often hiked to Verpeilhütte on a rough, winding, and steep mountain trail about four miles long and climbing 2400 feet. There is no medical service available in Kaunertal, the closest doctor being the health officer of Prutz, a community of 900 people at the mouth of the valley, eight miles away. In Landeck, fifteen miles away, there are several pediatricians and about a dozen doctors. A few miles from Landeck, at Zams, is the hospital mentioned above. A traveling clinic visits Kaunertal infrequently (it did not come during the summer of 1956). Vitamins are not sold in Kaunertal; the closest pharmacy is in Landeck. It is almost impossible for the mothers of Kaunertal to give their children the kind of modern preventive care and inoculations so easily obtainable in the larger towns and cities.

Kaunertal child training practices today thus display many traits not characteristic of urban Western societies, being gradually replaced by urban traits. Many—perhaps most—of the older dying traits seem similar to nineteenth century or early twentieth century urban European child training practices, as described in contemporary novels and children's books and also as described by older women in my own family. While a thorough review of earlier urban child training practice is beyond the scope of this study, in my opinion its results nevertheless clearly support the Foster-Boissevain view of peasant culture. In Redfield's terms, the Tyrolean mountain peasant culture is a folk culture, while Hopi culture is a modified primitive culture.

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ACQUIRING STATUS IN GUAJIRO SOCIETY

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The present paper is based upon field research carried out during a 26-day trip in the months of August and September 1958.¹ The writer had previously visited the Colombia part of the Guajira Peninsula in 1940 as a graduate student of anthropology.

The Guajira Peninsula occupies the north-central part of South America and lies between the countries of Colombia and Venezuela. Roughly speaking, about three-fourths of the peninsula belong to Colombia, while only one-fourth is within the boundaries of Venezuela. Ecologically and ethnographically, however, the peninsula is an unbroken block, occupied mainly by the Arawak-speaking Guajiro Indians. There are no attempts on the part of either Government to hold the Indians within the national territory and as, the frontier is practically unwatched, the natives go back and forth across the boundary much as they please.

The primary aim of the 1958 field trip was to find, if possible, a proper locale in which to establish, for the first time in Venezuela, a Pilot Center of Fundamental Education following the patterns—with the necessary modifications for local adaptation—already in practice in countries such as India, Mexico, Peru, etc. The Comisión Indigenista, a branch of the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Venezuela, of which the present writer was a member of its technical staff at the time of the field trip, has, at present, elaborate and extensive plans to develop Fundamental Education in Venezuela, thanks to the untiring efforts of its Technical Advisor, Dr. Walter Dupouy. The aim is to bring, ultimately, all of the 100,000 indigenous inhabitants of the country into its national life.

Although major attention was given to the primary aim of the field trip, some time was left for pure research. This was aided by the fact that the present writer was in constant company of

¹ Although no direct quotations have been made from the literature, earlier works have been consulted for both historical and present-day ethnographical data.

the individual who was to provide the raw material for this article. This is more or less a biography of the man who was at the same time guide, interpreter, and driver for the author and with whom extensive conversations, both formal and informal, took place.²

Guajiro culture, like most native cultures in the New World, has suffered great acculturation due to the impact with European ways of life. Some of these cultures have been more resistant to change than others; and within one culture, certain aspects have remained closer to the traditional forms than have others. In Guajiro culture, it is perhaps the social organization, with all of its ramifications, that has resisted recent acculturation more than the other aspects of the culture. We know very little of the pre-cattle culture of the Guajiro and even Juan de Castellanos, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, describes them as having numerous herds of domestic animals. Nowhere in the literature on the Guajiros is there an example of status having been acquired outside the traditional way and the present writer, in his two field trips to the region, has found only the case here described.

As it is not the purpose of this article to give a full description of the social organization of the Guajiro, it will be sufficient to state that the tribe is divided into some twenty-five matrilineal clans, of which about eleven are large and rather powerful in their socio-economic aspects, and the rest—due mainly to the fact of having a small number of members—are weak, and relatively unimportant. Inheritance is along the mother's line, an individual acquiring property from his maternal uncle. The avunculate in all its social and economic aspects, is a very important institution (Santa Cruz, 1941).

Traditionally the clans are exogamous with incest taboos and punishments for those who break them. This exogamic characteristic of the clan is apparently disappearing, as several cases of endogamous unions were found among the Guajiro living in the outskirts of the city of Maracaibo. No endogamous marriages, however, were found in the Guajiro proper by the present writer, although Gregorio Hernandez de Alba (1936) has

² Proper names, especially of the subject, have all been disguised in some way, so as to spare personal feelings.

reported several in the vicinity of the town of Riohacha in Colombia.

Residence is normally matrilineal, although, at present, there is a tendency towards neo-locality. The author has found no case of patrilocality either in the field or in the literature.

The names of the five more important clans in Guajiro society, and those with which we are concerned in this article are: Uriana, Epinayú, Pushaina, Guajariyú, and Epicyú. These designations have lost meaning in Guajiro and not even the oldest members questioned by the writer remember what they mean. The clans also have an animal or plant totem closely attached to food and hunting taboos. How deep this totemic aspect of the clan goes the writer does not know and the two references found in the literature, A. Ernst (1887) and A. Jahn (1927), simply mention the fact without going into details.

Today the clans have no distinct geographic distribution. Members of the different clans are found scattered more or less at random over the whole peninsula, and in both Colombia and Venezuela. This may be due perhaps to the extensive migrations of families within the region in their quest for water for themselves and their domestic animals. This necessity has also probably contributed to the gradual breakdown of the matrilineal residence. The earlier literature suggests that the clans may have had, at one time, certain regional characteristics. Juan de Castellanos cites that the Guajiros living near what is now the town of Riohacha all belonged to the Uriana clan. A. Ernst goes as far as showing a distribution map of the clans. A. Jahn and G. Hernandez de Alba draw their conclusion of geographic distribution for the clans based on the earlier sources but definitely state that today the clans present the scattered distribution the present writer found.

The Guajiro culture may be described in brief as pastoral, with a small-scale supplementary agriculture, especially in the southern part of the peninsula where water and more fertile lands are available. Domestic animals, cattle in particular, represent the foundation of wealth to the Guajiro. His economic position, and likewise his social status, is measured in the number of cattle, sheep, goats, asses and horses he owns. This pastoral complex permeates practically every aspect of the culture.

The whole judiciary structure with its elaborate system of torts is based on the payment of a given number of domestic animals. There is no crime, including murder, that cannot be amiably settled by such payments (Petrullo, 1937). The acquisition of a bride is also reduced to the payment of a stipulated price, in terms of domestic animals, to be given to the maternal uncle of the girl.

Social, economic, and political status in the Guajiro society is intimately connected with the cattle complex. To have a high status an individual needs, primarily, two assets: he must possess a large number of domestic animals, in other words, he must be considered rich; and he must be an older man. If he lacks either of these requisites, he is not a leader, as he will not be sufficiently respected nor will members of his clan come to him to seek his advice. Consequently, leaders are not numerous in the Guajiro peninsula. The present writer knows only two individuals, both in Venezuela, who are today the unquestionable leaders of their respective clans. These men are Panchito Silva, of the Pushaina clan, and José de la Rosa Fernandez of the Urianá clan.

An analysis of the lives of these two men will be illustrative of the traditional methods of acquiring status among the Guajiro.

Panchito Silva, a man of about 80 years of age, lives in the native village of Sishipes in Venezuela. During his life-time he has had eight wives (two or three at a time) and now lives with his surviving two, one about 35 years old and the other about 50. He is a full-blooded Indian as has been the case of his wives. There is no trace of race mixture in his family. He has no clear idea of how many children he has had, apart from those living with him now (two men and five women). Yet he knows definitely that he has four younger brothers—who will inherit his wealth and position before these are passed on to his nephews—three sisters and twenty-five nephews and nieces (all sons and daughters of his sisters). His lack of concern towards his own children coupled with his keen interest in his nephews and nieces seems to be a clear indication of how strong the avunculate is in traditional Guajiro society. His holdings in cattle and other domestic animals are very large. Roughly he owns around 1,000 head of cattle and about 3,000 of sheep,

goats, mules, asses, and horses. Approximately 60% of this total he acquired through inheritance, as his maternal uncle was a wealthy man and, in his time, the leader of the Pushaina clan. The rest of his property, Panchito has acquired through the payment of bride-prices received for his nieces. Unquestionably, Panchito Silva has become wealthy and the leader of his clan through inheritance, although, through the years, as he has aged and his nieces have married he has become more firmly established in his position.

Members of the Pushaina clan come to Panchito from the most remote places of the peninsula (both from Colombia and Venezuela), to seek his advice; to ask him to settle disputes among families within the clan; to tell him about injuries received by a clan member so he can establish the amount of compensation to be paid and exact payment from the offending clan; to fix the bride-price of a given girl member of the clan; to establish how much each male member must contribute in order to pay compensation due to another clan; and for many other minor details of clan organization and function. The writer was a guest at Panchito's home for two days and, during that period, Panchito received the visit of no less than 63 clan members, who, in all, brought about 25 or 30 different clan problems to be settled.

The story of José de la Rosa Fernandez, although different from that of Panchito Silva, represents a second method of acquiring status following the traditional law of the tribe. José de la Rosa Fernandez is also a full-blooded Indian, about 65 years old. He has had seven wives, but always one at the time, except now when he has two. One of them is an old woman with whom he lives most of the time, and just recently he married a very young girl (who remains living with her mother) whom he visits once or twice a week. Fernandez's position in the Uriana clan is very similar to that of Silva in the Pushaina. The writer was not able to hold private conversations with Fernandez and, consequently, exact data regarding his property are lacking. Although he did not inherit too much property nor the clan leadership as in Silva's case, he was fortunate to have many nieces whom he has managed to marry off very well and to get large bride-prices for them. Thus he began to accumulate property and at present he is probably the richest man in the

Venezuelan Guajiro. As his wealth grew so did his prestige. About twenty years ago the then leader of the Uriana clan died leaving no heirs, as he had no brothers and no direct nephews. Guajiro tradition establishes that, if upon the death of a clan leader and wealthy man there are no close heirs, even though there be distant ones, a council of elders (informally chosen among the oldest and more respected men of the clan) will meet and select the individual who shall take over not only the leadership of the clan but the wealth of the deceased as well. These cases are very infrequent (actually the writer could only find, in the memory of the oldest men, two instances of a council of elders meeting to select a leader; one is the case mentioned in this article, and the other occurred among the Epieyú clan, in Colombia, about fifty or sixty years ago). Fernandez now confesses, quite candidly, that at the time of the meeting of the council of elders, he distributed a number of gifts among them, thus succeeding in having them select him as clan leader and heir to the wealth of the dead chief.

It is interesting to note—and it shows how much acculturation Guajiro culture has undergone with the assimilation of the cattle complex—that the true Guajiro term for leader or chief (which also means “old man”) *alat'laa* is almost all but forgotten and practically never used, having been substituted by the word *to'olo* a corruption of the Spanish word *toro* meaning BULL. (Stops are not glottal, but simple stoppage of the sound to be renewed with the coming vowel. Phonetic transcription have followed those given by Dr. Martha Hilderbrand's work on the Guajiro language published by the Comisión Indigenista, Venezuela, in 1958).

The role of Fernandez as leader of the Uriana clan is an exact replica of Silva's. He acts as advisor, settles disputes, makes arrangements for the payments of torts, bride-prices, etc. His day is fully as busy as that of Silva and he attends to all these matters besides his personal affairs.

Here we have, then, the two traditional ways of acquiring status in Guajiro society that the present writer has been able to investigate; one through inheritance, as in the case of Panchito Silva; and the other, through selection by a council of elders, as in the case of José de la Rosa Fernandez. It is doubtful that

there may be other traditional ways of acquiring status. The literature mentions none, although Ernst (1887), Jahn (1927), and Hernandez de Alba (1936) make detailed comments on the two traditional ways described here.

Incidentally, these two leaders are never called by their first names, not even by their closest relatives, and are referred to as To'olito Silva and To'olito Fernandez.

To illustrate the new way of acquiring status in Guajiro society it is best to describe quite fully how one individual, and as far as the writer knows, the only one, whom we shall name José Perez, has reached a certain status though employing none of the traditional methods. As guide and interpreter of the present writer during the recent field trip, José Perez was in constant personal contact with the author, who was able to obtain valuable first hand information and observe reactions to personal and intimate questions.

First let us give a brief biographical sketch of José Perez. Perez is now 46 years old. He was born in the village of Castilletes, Venezuela, in the extreme north-eastern part of the Guajiro peninsula. His father (still living, now in the town of Paraguaipoa, Venezuela) has no trace of Indian blood and is considered in Paraguaipoa as pure white, while his mother (deceased) was a pure Indian belonging to the Urianá Clan. Perez's father took him, while still a child, to Maracaibo for schooling which included three years of high school. At that time Perez's father was quite influential in local politics in Maracaibo and was able to get the Governor of the State of Zulia interested in the youth. Perez was given a small position in the State's government, where he was employed for about ten years. During this period he married a local white girl with whom he had a child (now in his fifth year of medical college, State University of Zulia) and apparently had all but forgotten the Indian half of his heritage settling into the whites' ways of life.

Perez went into politics and was elected Prefect (an office similar to the County Sheriff in the United States) of the Paez district, Sinamaica, in the threshold of the Guajira, so to speak. He moved north to his district leaving his family in Maracaibo. This return to a semi-Indian district apparently had some influence in Perez's outlook for the future, for as soon as his term of

office expired (in two years time) he sought and obtained a position in the Federal Ministry of Public Works in a project which was seeking the best places to drill water wells all over the Guajira peninsula. He held this job for about a year and half. He is now employed in the Guajira office, in Paraguaipoa, of the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry and is "ad honorem" agent of the Comisión Indigenista in the Guajira. In these two jobs he gets paid only when he performs certain work, such as when he recently acted as guide and interpreter for the present writer.

During his term as Prefect of Paez (Sinamaica) he married, according to the Guajira tradition and law, one of the daughters of To'olito Fernandez, for whom he had to pay a very high price, as the girl was the daughter of an important chief. Following Guajira law the price for the bride was gathered among the members of the Urianá clan to which Perez belongs due to his mother's heritage. Incidentally, as Fernandez also belongs to the Urianá clan he had to contribute in the collection of the bride-price of his own daughter although, of course, the amount collected did not go to him but to the girl's maternal uncle. This was a typical exogamous marriage as the girl belongs to the Guajariyú clan, that being her mother's clan. At present, Perez keeps two households, one in Maracaibo with his white wife and son, whom he visits once or twice a week, if he is not doing any special work for the ministries; the other, is his native household at the Laguna del Pajaro, Guajira, where he remains most of his time. He has had no children with his Indian wife. His two simultaneous marriages have brought him no trouble with the law, as according to Guajiro tradition polygyny is perfectly acceptable, and according to Venezuelan law he has only one legitimate wife.

It is interesting to note at this point that Perez denies having a white wife in Maracaibo, although he does not deny having the son and shows pride in saying that his son is in medical school. The present writer was not able to fathom the reasons behind this denial. Data regarding his Maracaibo marriage was obtained from Perez's father who was also unable to furnish good motives for the fact that Perez tries to hide that he has a household in that city. To test this point the writer, after the

two days' visit at the home of Panchito Silva and while returning to Paraguaipoa, asked Perez how many wives he had had. Perez was obviously quite upset by the question, but did not hesitate in answering: "Oh, no, Mr. Santa Cruz! I have and only have had one wife, Anita!" (Anita is his Indian wife). Whether the motives for the denial are of a personal nature or involve some cultural complex is unknown to the writer.

Nevertheless Perez leads a perfectly discernable dual life. He has two homes, as described, dividing his time between them, devoting about 40% of the time (when he is not working) to his Maracaibo home, and about 60% to his Guajira home. He has two sets of friends which he is very careful not to mix. His plans for the future of his son are entirely along white cultural lines. At this point we find contradictory thoughts in Perez's mind. The present writer has heard him repeatedly criticize the attitude of certain Guajiros, both full-blooded and half-breeds, who, having gone to Maracaibo for formal education (especially to Teachers' College) have then sought, and in many cases obtained, positions in Maracaibo instead of returning to the Guajira to practice their professions. Yet when it comes to his own son, Perez's plans are for a permanent residence in Maracaibo or, if possible, Caracas, where he could go into practice in an entirely white cultural background.

The problem now is to define Perez's status in the Guajira. Undoubtedly his personality has some importance in Guajiro social stratification, especially among his own generation. This importance he has attained by granting favors, which his semi-official government positions enables him to do, to those whom he thinks will, in the future, be of help to him. Perhaps this is best illustrated by an example. The Ministry of Justice, through the *Comisión Indigenista*, grants ten scholarships annually to Guajiros who meet certain educational requirements. These scholarships are for the State of Zulia Teachers' College in Maracaibo. Perez has been given, more or less, a free hand in the selection of the candidates for these scholarships. About 65% of the candidates chosen by Perez, in the four years that the plan has been in operation, have been admitted to the College. The writer was able to look briefly into the family back-

ground of the candidates selected by Perez so far, and he has found that only one among all the boys and girls recommended by him actually came from a Guajiro family that could not afford to pay for higher education. All the rest came from families, both pure Indian and with white mixture, belonging to the upper economic and social strata of the Guajiro society, who could easily pay for the education of their children.

These and other favors that Perez has granted to the upper social class have, undoubtedly, given him a unique status in the social structure. Perez is not respected in the same sense as Fernandez and Silva are respected, but his advice is sought and no favor he asks is ever denied. The older men, especially those enjoying certain leadership, look upon Perez with certain scorn as an upstart. For instance, on several occasions, when the present writer with Perez visited his father-in-law, Fernandez, the old leader, in a half-humorous and half-serious way, would repeatedly say: "This is To'lito; I am the To'olo," meaning that Perez was just a "little bull," while he was the big, the important "bull." Nevertheless, regardless of this general attitude of the older men, even they come to him whenever they want some favor from the Government. The writer has never heard Perez deny such requests to individuals of the upper stratum, while on several occasions it was noted that he refused to do anything on behalf of those who are economically and socially below him.

As far as the younger generation is concerned, Perez unquestionably has many friends and individuals who look upon him as the possible means of bettering their position. His bitter enemies are also to be found among the younger generation. These will stop at nothing in the hope of having him completely discredited in general and in particular they aim to have him lose his semi-official position. Just recently, this group went so far as to accuse him of having been a collaborator of the deposed dictatorial regime of Perez Jimenez and an enemy of the democratic government now in power in Venezuela. This landed Perez in jail but, as these accusations could not be substantiated, he was released in 24 hours. This incident is referred to here for the sole purpose of illustrating to what measures his enemies

will go to have him fall in disgrace. Whether these accusations are true or false is not our concern in this article.

Summing up Perez's position in Guajiro society we find the following facts: Among the older and more influential men, Perez is not considered as one of them and their attitude towards him is not a respectful one. He on the contrary is quite respectful towards them. No one, however, among this group can be classified as his enemy, and they do seek him out for advice in their dealings with Government officials. Among his contemporaries he enjoys a very influential position and practically everyone seeks his friendship. His true friends are to be found, without question, among this group, and, as far as it could be investigated, he has no real enemies among them, although there may be a few who envy his position. The younger generations are clearly divided into two groups—one group which truly respects and looks up to him, and another which is composed of his bitter enemies.

From the many formal and informal conversations the present writer has had with Perez—at his home, while traveling, when visiting some one else, etc.—the following analysis may be made of his behavior and position. While in Maracaibo, Perez soon became aware that he could attain no high status within a white culture where competition is always very keen. As Prefect of Sinamaica he clearly saw the possibilities of climbing up the ladder in Guajiro society and the first step he took towards that goal was to marry a full-blooded Indian girl from an important family, and to marry her in accordance with the traditional Guajiro law. There was very little chance for him to obtain the necessary wealth and to attain leadership status through property, but he saw the opportunity his semi-official position gave him to become the point of contact between the Guajiro and while cultures, cultivating both and becoming an almost indispensable person in the dealings the true natives had with the authorities. Whether his marriage to the Guajiro girl was purely for interest or whether there was any love involved is, of course, very difficult to say. As the writer made his headquarters in Perez's household at the Laguna del Pajaro, during his stay in the Guajira, he was able to observe, at first hand, the relationship between Perez and his native wife. These were always

cordial, no fights or even harsh words between them was ever noticed, and when Perez was arrested, as mentioned before, his wife showed great concern and distress and did everything possible to have him released from jail and brought home. Still the question of how much real affection, especially on Perez's part, is involved in this marriage cannot be answered with certainty. As regards the grantings of favors to the Guajiro, it is obvious that he makes a careful selection and never or hardly ever grants them to individuals who could not, in the future, be of some help to him.

Whether or not Perez will attain a position of respect and leadership such as Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez enjoy is hard to say, but the writer will try to make an analysis of the situation and draw certain tentative conclusions.

There is no doubt that clan leadership with all its privileges and responsibilities is slowly dying out in the Guajira. Among the 25 odd clans existing at present the writer has met only two individuals who have all the earmarks of a true economic, political, and social leader, namely, Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez. Informants have told him that there are two others, the heads of the Epinayú and the Epieyú clans living in the upper Guajira and in Colombia respectively. From what information was gathered these two other leaders fit closely to the pattern described for Silva and Fernandez. The remainder of the clans have no true, powerful leaders, although they do have elder members who are more or less respected and consulted in certain clan matters. Around the turn of the century, however, according to the information gathered first hand from old men like Silva and Fernandez, and from the literature, there were at least twenty powerful leaders among the clans.

Undoubtedly one of the contributing factors to the breakdown of clan leadership has been the great horizontal movement in population among the Guajiro in the last fifty years. Such spread would tend, naturally, to break down the regional characteristics of the clan and ultimately help to bring about a loss of personal contact between a leader and the rest of his clan and hence the loss of control. Whether there are other economic, social, or political factors in operation favoring this breakdown is not fully known. The writer suspects that there may be but this problem would need further intensive investigation. The

writer hopes in future researches to complete the picture of leadership among the Guajiro and the present breakdown in their social organization.

As mentioned above, traditional form clan leadership is obtained either through inheritance or by selection made by a council of elders. Perez's case is entirely different and he has followed white culture means and ways, more or less, in obtaining leadership in Guajiro society irrespective of clan organization. In other words, he has become, in certain aspects, a leader of the Guajiro as a whole and not of a particular clan. It is to be expected that as more and more Guajiro individuals go to Maracaibo for higher education, these new methods, such as those utilized by Perez, of attaining status will become stronger and will also be a contributing factor in the final breakdown of the traditional clan leadership. Some years must pass, however, to determine conclusively whether this is the path that leadership in the Guajira will take. At the moment four important clans still have their traditional leaders—the Pushiana, Uriana, Epinayú, and Epieyú—with strong and well defined heirs to their present leaders; and as long as the inheritance lines remain firm, clan leadership among these four clans will cling to the traditional. The rest of the clans, having lost their lines of inheritance and lacking men of strong personality to become their unquestioned leaders, will tend, we predict, to fall in step with new leaders of the Perez type. Such leaders will, undoubtedly, become more numerous as the acculturation processes go forward.

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